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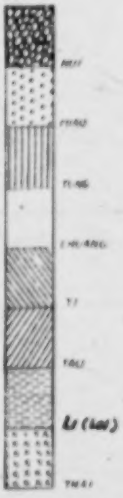

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE CENTRAL SOUTH

[Facing p. 65]

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ETHNIC GROUPS

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Ethnic minorities are herein defined as minorities bound together by common ties of race, nationality, or culture, living together within an alien civilization but remaining culturally distinct. The Chinese Communists, following the practice of the USSR, have termed the ethnic minorities within the Chinese territory "nationalities" or "national minorities" in juxtaposition to the Han nationality. Therefore, the term "nationality" as used in China today is nothing but a designation for an ethnic and geographical community. Owing to the fact that the Hui people, neither racially homogeneous nor concentrated in one area, are also regarded as a separate nationality by the Chinese Communists, the latter's main principle governing such a classification seems to be the presence of customary laws and practices peculiar to a group of common origin which have, over a period of time, regulated their standard of behavior and given rise to group consciousness and distinctive characteristics. It is on this same broad principle that we base our classification of the ethnic groups in China. Accordingly, the Han Chinese, though by far the great majority of the Chinese population (94%), are also considered as one of the many ethnic groups in China.

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speaking Han Chinese in the northeast, while the Hakka-speaking Han Chinese are found in the northwestern corner intermingled with Thai immigrants from Indo-China.[10]

Comparing the Han Chinese in Kwangtung and Kwangsi with the northern Chinese, the former are generally shorter in stature, showing the effect of a series of admixtures of non-Han blood in the course of Han migration. It can be stated, therefore, that the Han Chinese are more homogeneous in civilization than in racial composition. (For cultural characteristics of the Han Chinese, see chapters on Social Structure and Family in this handbook.)

III. THE NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS

The attached ethnographic map indicates the distribution of non-Han ethnic groups, and a table contains some detailed information concerning the six most numerous non-Han ethnic groups.

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10. Ch'en Chih, Hai-nan-tao Hsin-chih, [A New Gazeteer of Hainan Island], Shanghai, 1949, p. 89; Li Tai-ch'en, Hai-nan-tao Chih Hsien-chuang, [The Present Situation on Hainan Island], Shanghai, Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1947, p. 18.

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With the exception of the 2,000 Hui people on Hainan Island, the Hui in Central-South China are almost indistinguishable from the average Chinese in physical appearance. Hui cohesiveness is attributable to factors other than racial and physical differences. Their language, religion, and their customs which follow religious practices and observances, make them cohesive as an ethnic group in spite of outside influences, and the fact that in the Central-South the Hui do not have large and contiguous communities.

[582]

The Hui intermarry with the Han Chinese. However, when a Han Chinese wishes to marry a Hui woman, he must embrace Islam, whereas a Han woman who wishes to marry a Hui man, need not change her religion. Therefore, although different ancestry sets apart the Hui people from the Han Chinese, the lack of racial prejudice on the part of the Hui facilitates the assimilation of other groups into the Hui community.

In contrast to the Hui people in the Southwest, who have been antagonistic toward the Han Chinese as a result of the oppressive policies of previous Chinese governments, the Hui in the Central-South Region mingle closely with the Han Chinese in daily life. The Kuomintang government seemed to take for granted that Hui were sufficiently assimilated into Chinese communities and did not merit recognition as a separate ethnic group. In the 1930's, the Hui were treated as "believers

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11. The Hui is an ethnic designation which does not include all the believers in Islam, Many Islamic groups in China have their own ethnic names, i.e., Urgurs, Kazaks, Mongolian Moslems, Tibetan Moslems, etc.

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in Islam," and their ethnic differences were minimized.[12] The present Chinese Communist government has reversed the Kuomintang practice. By reviewing past grievances between the Hui (mainly of the Northwest and Southwest) and the Han, and by condemning the policies of the previous governments, the Peking Government is claiming its ethnic policy as the most enlightened of all times. However Peking's reversal of Kuomintang policy so far does not seem to have aroused enthusiastic response among the Hui communities in the Central-South Region. This situation has probably led to new Communist propaganda among the Hui people: Pai Shou-i, a noted historian of Hui origin, has recently expounded the thesis that foreign imperialists, more than anyone else, were responsible for the former "unprosperous" state of the Hui people in Central-South and East China.[13]

Since more of the Hui people in the Central-South are small merchants and handicraftsmen, with few of them engaged in agriculture and still fewer as landlords, the Communists' land reform

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12. This is evident in the several yearbooks compiled during that period. In these yearbooks, Hui people are not separately listed.

13. For instance, Pai accused the British of helping the Manchu government suppress the Taiping rebels. Since the Manchu government suppressed the Hui people, the British were also regarded as the enemy of the Hui people. The Japanese were also accused of having destroyed many mosques and killed many Hui from 1931 to 1945. Cf. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Nov. 21, 1950.

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has little effect on the Hui people in this region. 563 [595] Even the practice of polygamy, as sanctioned by their religious belief, is not common among the Hui people of this region, since their economic status does not permit it.

According to a report at a meeting held by the Hui Cultural Association at Peking, ten autonomous hsien and chou have been established for the Hui people in China; however, there has been no news release concerning the establishment of any Hui autonomous unit in the Central-South Region, although there are indications that scattered Hui have representation in the local governments as well as in the autonomous government units of some other ethnic groups.[14] 563 634

In lieu of the Hui people's own political organization, the Hui people's associations, like the one in Wuhan, are said to be active under Communist leadership, looking after Hui people's interest and voicing their opinion.[15] In reality, they serve the Peking government mainly as propaganda instruments among other Moslem peoples in the world, especially the Indonesians.

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14. NCNA, April 15, 1955, Survey of the China Mainland Press, No. 1031, April 20, 1955, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, pp. 32-33.

15. Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, August 17, 1952.

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B. The Chuang People

Because the Chuang are better off economically than the other non-Han ethnic groups in Kwangsi and live in close association with the Han Chinese, they are not easily distinguishable from the latter.[16] Chuang people readily intermarry with the Han Chinese, and many who intermarry are not certain whether their ancestors were Chuang or Han. The Chuang's own traditional marriage system is free of the service of a middleman, and marriage is usually performed at festival times. The bride stays with her parents until the child is born, and only then is the marriage considered consummated.[17] In these customs, they are more like the Miao than the Han Chinese.

Many Chuang speak, read and write Chinese. They are not despised by the Han Chinese as much as are the other non-Han ethnic groups. However, many Chuang people who regard themselves as intellectuals and upper-class people do not like to admit that they are Chuang. Like the Pu-yi in Kweichow, the Chuang of Kwangsi as a minority group actually do not pose any minority problem for the Chinese administration.

16. Min-tsu Cheng-t'se Wen-hsien Hui-pien [Compendium of Documents on Nationalities Policies], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 52-53.

17. Wiens, op. cit., p. 53.

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The Chinese Communists recently claimed that they had sponsored a revival of the almost obsolete Chuang dialect, and that a written Chuang language was in the process of being created.

The Chuang have long been engaged in agriculture; many Chuang own the land they cultivate, and many are landlords. When the Communists carried out land reform in the Central-South, the Chuang landlords, like the Han Chinese landlords were accused as exploiters of the Miao and Yao peasants.[18]

C. The Tung People

The Tung people who live on the plain have been assimilated into Han communities. Those living in the mountainous areas resemble the Miao and Yao and have their own customs.[19] Ethnically, they are probably related to the Chuang. Like the Chuang, the Tung have long been accustomed to an agricultural economy, and many are landlords. Like the Chuang landlords,

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18. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Feb. 18, 1952.

19. Li Tsung-jen and Pai Chung-hsi, Kuang-hsi Chih Chien-she, [The Reconstruction of Kwangsi], Kweilin; Kuang-hsi Chieh-she Yen-chiu Hui, 1939, p. 512.

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the Tung landlords, too, were accused of having exploited the Yao peasants during the land reform.[20] 563 565

D. The Yao People

The Yao community is divided into two classes: the landlord and the tenant. The landlords who own land on the mountain slopes are called Shan-chu (mountain proprietors). They usually wear their hair long, and are thus called Ch'ang-mao Yao [Long-haired Yao]. The Yao peasants, who move from one mountain to another when the soil is exhausted, are called Kuo-shan Yao [Cross-mountain Yao].[21] However, the number of Yao landlords is small, and most of the Yao peasants cultivate fields owned by Han Chinese or Chuang landlords.[22] Thus, Yao intermingle with Han and Chuang people in their daily economic life. [302]

A Kuomintang source states that Yao readily intermarry with the Han Chinese,[23] but recent 563 582

20. Min-tsu Cheng-t'se Wen-hsien Hui-pien, [as cited in footnote 16], pp. 155-56.

21. An ko-ming, Chung-kuo Shao-shu Min-tsu Feng-kuang, [Life of the Chinese Minority Nationals], Hong Kong, Hsüeh-wen shu-tien, 1955, pp. 109-10.

22. Min-tsu Cheng-t'se Wen-hsien Hui-pien, pp. 53-54.

23. Li Tsung-jen and Pei Chung-hsi, op. cit., p. 512.

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Chinese Communist sources state that Yao people have strictly forbidden their children to intermarry with the Han Chinese since the latter are hated and distrusted by the Yao people.[24] Taking account of the Kuomintang government's desire to assimilate the minorities, and the Communists' exaggeration of minority sufferings under "undemocratic government," the real attitude of the Yao toward the Han Chinese must be somewhere between the two extremes. One must not ignore the fact that the superiority of Han Chinese culture is readily recognized by the Yao people, and this recognition often leads to ready assimilation of the Yao people into Han communities, provided that the latter do not raise too high a barrier against the Yao. The hardships of the Yao people are due to the following conditions detrimental to a prosperous community:

1. Yao peasants have to pay high rent for land under their cultivation; not infrequently, rent runs as high as 70 per cent of the total crop yield.

2. The land under their cultivation is generally low in productivity; consequently, Yao peasants are usually short of food a part of every year. To alleviate the situation, Yao peasants

24. Min-tsu Cheng-t'se Wen-hsien Hui-pien, p. 103. (cited above).

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often resort to mortgaging to their landlords the green plants standing in the field for two- or three-tenths of the regular crop price, and thus further aggravate their next year's economic situation. 563 182 [+26]

3. Lack of incentive and indulgence in liquor are prevalent in Yao communities and stem from the impossible economic situation in which the peasants find themselves.

Under the Communists, several hsien governments in Kwangsi have started moving Yao people from the mountains to the flat land to clear new land for cultivation or to share agricultural land confiscated from Han and Chuang landlords.[25] However, the Han and Chuang communities on the flat land are probably not very cordial to these immigrant Yao people, for there are cases in which some Yao people, after being given land in Han and Chuang communities, chose to return to their old habitat in the mountains. Recent Chinese Communist news dispatches claim an unusual effort on the part of the Communist cadres to foster friendliness between these ethnic groups.

Yao people have the custom of cultivating each other's fields in groups. This custom is 563 476

25. Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, March 11, 1950; June 25, 1952.

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highly praised by the Chinese Communists since it resembles the "mutual-aid teams" in the old Liberated Areas in North China. Today, this traditional practice of the Yao people may facilitate the task of the Chinese Communists in the organization of the "co-operative labor teams" among the Yao people.

E. The Miao People

In the Central-South most of the Miao people live in West Hunan where there is today a Miao Autonomous Region. It is interesting to note, however, that the Miao people comprise only one-fifth of the population of this so-called Miao Autonomous Region.

In contrast to the situation in the Southwest, where Miao tenants are exploited by their Yi landlords, in West Kwangsi the Miao have been persecuting the Yi minority to such an extent that the latter group has dwindled in number in the last one hundred years from 10,000 to 3,000[26] Although most of the Miao, as an immigrant group on Hainan Island, are tenants of the aboriginal Li landlords and are controlled by them, they do not mingle or intermarry with the Li. The Miao on Hainan are said to be more intelligent and literate than the Li. Unlike the Miao

26. Liu Chieh, Kuang-hsi T'e-chung Chiao-yü, [Special Education in Kwangsi], Kweilin: Kuang-hsi sheng-cheng-fu pien-i wei-yuan hui, 1940, p. 2.

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Unlike the Miao in Kweichow, the Miao on Hainan are united; and unlike the Li, the Miao do not form large villages.[27] 563 361

There is little social stratification in Miao communities in the Central-South. The Miao women work in the field together with their men. They do not observe the marriage bond as strictly as the Han Chinese women. They do not suffer particularly under the marriage system, and the enforcement of the new Marriage Law by the Communists make no material difference to the status of Miao women in their own communities. 563 562

F. The Li of Hainan Island

Althoug the Ha and the Chi are actually two branches of the Li people, the Li proper and the Chi and Ha differ culturally and discriminate against each other. The Ha, who daim to be Han immigrants during the Han dynasty are more advanced culturally. 563

All of the Li people use wooden plows and depend upon Han Chinese merchants for the importation of iron farming implements, which have always been inadequately supplied in the Li

27. Min-tsu Cheng-t'se Wen-hsien Hui-pien, pp. 53-54.

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areas. Land holdings are scattered, and most of the Li landlords have Miao as their tenants.[28] 563

A traditional Li tribe consists of three to ten villages, and each village contains a number of clans. The heads of the clans as well as the heads of the tribes exercise life and death power over the Li people under their control. 563 361

IV. GENERAL ETHNIC PROBLEMS AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST ETHNIC POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION

In the Central-South Region there is a higher degree of interpenetration on the part of the various ethnic groups, especially in Kwangsi Province, than in the Southwest. Consequently, social problems of the Central-South, especially in areas where ethnic groups abound, cross the ethnic lines. For instance, so-called exploitation is usually (1) by Han Chinese landlords of Yao or Miao peasants, (2) by Han merchants of handicraftsmen minority of the nationalities, (3) by Tung and Chuang landlords of Miao and Yao tenants, and (4) by the Li landlords of Miao tenants on Hainan Island. Consequently, in the land reform conducted by the Communists, Yao, Miao and Han peasants were often gathered 563

28. Ibid., pp. 53-54.

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together to accuse Han, Chuang, and Tung landlords.[29]

Except for the Hui people, the non-Han ethnic groups in the Central-South Region do not have strong internal organizations and are not tightly knit. This situation is readily reflected in the Communist ethnic policy in this region when compared with the policy in the Southwest, where Communist concentrate on minority leaders who have influence with their people. In the Central-South Region, ethnic work depends heavily upon Han Chinese cadres and non-Han cadres from the local population trained by the Communists.[30] The Communist Party, the New Democratic Youth League, and the Women's Federation have all been very active in the Central-South, and have as their goal the recruitment of large numbers of minority people.[31]

A Yao, Ho Hsi-feng, became the chairman of the Soviet Government in Kuo-te, Kwangsi, in 1929; and the Li and Miao on Hainan Island, Yao and Miao at Shih-wan-ta-shan, and the Yao and

29. Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, Feb. 8, 1952.
30. Ibid., Feb. 18, 1952.
31. Ibid., July 5, and July 7, 1954.

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Chuang in Kwangsi were engaged in anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare "under Communist leadership."[32] These past events are now widely publicized by the Communists among the non-Han ethnic groups in the Central-South in order to link the non-Han ethnic groups more closely to the Communist cause. 563

In the Central-South, the superiority of the Han Chinese culture is recognized. There is no competing culture, such as the one emanating from Tibet among the Tibetans in the Southwest. Therefore the ethnic problems in the Central-South are not particularly concerned with the possibility that a minority group may be attracted by a foreign power or that it may demand independence; effort is placed on the solving of inter-ethnic group conflict within the region. These conflicts are more frequently due to differences in economic status than to cultural organizations which maintain barriers between groups and prevent their amalgamation. It may be due to this fact that the Chinese Communists' main ethnic policy in the Central-South is the better organization of the labor force of the various ethnic groups in order to increase food production. Arid mountain fields are being abandoned and Miao and Yao peasants are fully utilized in land clearing or work on more productive lands. To the extent that the economic

32. Ibid.; Feb. 6, March 11, Sept. 28, 1950; Feb. 18, 1952.

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situation of the various ethnic groups in the Central-South can be improved, the Communists ethnic policy will have a chance of achieving success. The Communist have promised much in economic betterment, and it is still too early to appraise the results.

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C. The Pace of Reform

In the pace of family reform, as in all othe changes instituted by the Communist regime, the Central-South Region is behind the North, Northeast, and East China regions. For one thing, the Central-South Region has been for a shorter time under Communist control. For another, the development of modern industry in China, with its influences for change in family form and function, took place largely outside the Central-South Region. The trends forced by industrialization in many cases parallelled the objectives sought in the Marriage Law or, at least, prepared the people for a change in the old institution.

Another factor in the pace of family reform which has not been considered in this chapter is the existence of ethnic minorities in the Central-South Region. Constituting some five per cent of its population, largely concentrated in Kwangsi, these non-Han Chinese people have a variety of unique customs. However, the largest single minority group, the Chuang people of Kwangsi had closely associated and readily intermarried with their Han-Chinese neighbors and were becoming largely indistinguishable from them in appearance and custom before the establishment of the Communist regime. The new regime's special treatment of ethnic minorities has been extended to the Chuang people, and their trend toward integration with the Han-Chinese may therefore have been reversed. (See the chapter on Ethnic Groups in this handbook.)

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People in Central-South China, like people in North China, also read Yüan Ching and K'ung Chüeh's best-seller Hsin Erh-nü Ying-hsung Chuan (The Biography of a New Hero and Heroine), a 200,000-word account of the repulse of the Japanese invaders in North China, written in the style of the old-fashioned novels,[19] and Ting Ling's The Sun Shines on the Sangchien [Sang-kan] River, a novel about the struggle of the people in North China during the 1946-48 land reform, which was awarded the Stalin prize. Liu Pai-yü's Light's Ahead may be classified as a novel of Central-South China because it describes the crossing of the Yangtze River by General Liu Po-ch'eng's army during the "liberation war" against the Kuomintang. 538

Recently the Communists have encouraged stories based on the Red Army and the Communist infiltration of Kiangsi before the Long March. So far no major work in this field has appeared.

D. Literature of Minority Nationalities

The so-called literature of minority nationalities in Communist China, the development of which was mentioned in the first issue of the People's Literature 538 563

19. The first edition of 10,000 copies was sold out in twenty days, 80 per cent being sold in North China. Although pleased with its success, the Communists lamented the fact that the Chinese people are still too fond of the traditional "feudalistic" novels, that a novel of new ideas and new people could be successful only when dressed in traditional forms.

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in October 1949 as one of the six tasks set for the Chinese people, has achieved little. Although the heroes and the heroines depicted may be members of minority peoples, the books are written in Chinese by Han Chinese or by people of minority nationalities who have mastered the Chinese language. 538 563

So far, the effort to foster literature of minority nationalities has taken three forms: (1) tracing and recording minority customs; (2) interpreting social systems in minority groups from the dialectic materialistic viewpoint; and (3) the exchange of minority literature and Han Chinese literatures. Until the minority nationalities have their own written languages, this exchange amounts to the Sinicization of the minority nationalities through Chinese literature in ways which are not intended to seem "imperialistic" to the minority peoples. On the other hand. the cultural heritage of the Chinese people may be enriched by acquaintance with the literature of minority cultures.

Although the past is often interpreted by the Chinese Communists as a struggle between groups or suppression of one group by another, the literature of minority nationalities which is to be developed is not to be allowed to suggest animosities against the Chinese.

Steps have been taken by the Chinese Communists to create written languages for the Yao and Chuang peoples in the Central-South Region as well as for other ethnic groups in Southwest China. Whether these peoples, who have hitherto depended mainly on oral 212 563

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transmission of their tradition, may begin to use a written language is not certain; but there is no doubt that the opportunity for propaganda and regimentation of thought increases with literacy.

E. Poetry

Although Mao Tse-tung himself composes poems in the classical style, the "new poetry," which is written in pai-hua, (the vernacular), is in vogue in the Central-South Region today.

Wen I-to, Kuo Mo-jo, and Hsü Chih-mo, who wrote pai-hua, still are talked of. The publication of Wen's collected poems, Still Water, was an important literary event in 1929. Hsü experimented with new forms, including those found in Western poetry. He was less concerned with the theory and art of versification than Wen was. Wen's book, The Forms and Rules of Poetry (1926), which lists musical, artistic, and architectural skills as the necessary elements of good poetry, is a unique contribution to pai-hua poetry.

Kuo Mo-jo's poetry has energy and imagination, but no discipline and restraint; and has been likened to a torrent of water rushing from a broken dam. In the 1920's, when Kuo was the leader of the Creative Society, he advocated "art for art's sake." He was the first to introduce untranslated Western words and phrases into pai-hua poetry to enhance the beauty of of the metrical patterns of the stanzas. Although Kuo is not productive nowadays, and his poems are no longer popular, his present prestige as a "literary personage" is based on his past achievement; and his

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the Communists claimed that these figures indicated an improvement of education among the proletariat, they also admitted that the schools had not been paying sufficient attention to the children of the proletariat, who felt that they were discriminated against, and that the cost of education often hindered the furtherance of their education. 873

Official concern was expressed by the Communists over the lack of preparation on the part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[68] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to those students who are deficient.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

With the slogan, "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationals. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll minority nationals, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, 871 563

68. People's Education, August 1953, pp. 31-32.

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increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[69] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 minority nationals were attending schools,[70] and this would mean that one out of every eight minority nationals was attending school.

In Central-South China, some 16,170 schools in 1953 accepted the enrollment of minority nationals the total number of students from minority groups reached 103,300. During 1950-52, over 1,300 teachers were trained to teach in schools for minority nationals. In the Miao area in western Hunan Province, the number of primary schools for minority nationals increased from 47 in 1950 to 1,690 in 1952. The number of such schools in the minority national areas in Kwangsi was claimed to have been doubled during the same period.[71]

As a matter of policy, the appropriate language of each minority group is to be used in schools where the use of the Chinese language would tend to make teaching more difficult. (For the language policy of the Communists, see the chapter on Language.) With the exception of such higher level schools as the Central-South Minority National

69. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.
70. Ibid., October 1954, p. 35.
71. People's Education, March 1954, p. 40.

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College and the Kwangsi Minority National College, most of the primary schools included in Communist statistics are presumably poorly equipped and operated on an irregular schedule. 871 563

V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

A. The Character of the Communist Education

Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in the school system and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught in the schools. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools, with emphasis on the development of technical institutions, are measures of expediency in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction as outlined in the first Five-year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and rigid supervision of the publication of textbooks. Every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure the Communists have yet to achieve complete uniformity in education, but all possible efforts are made to guard against deviation. 871

B. Ideological Orientation and Its Effect on the People's Attitudes

The ideological orientation of the Communist educational system can be readily seen from the basic policies and the major movements instituted in Chinese education during the past five years. Through "education" the Communists expect to teach 876 191

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for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Mohammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are unlike those of the Chinese, e.g. they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizing caravans, butchering, leather working, metal work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[35]

The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem village community centers on its mosque presided over by its Imam, usually elected from among

35. Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

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of modern obstetrics in 1951.[12] 000

IV. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

Many groups of minority nationalities are found in Central-South China and Southwest China. The Chinese Communists, largely for propaganda purposes, are eager to show their goodwill to minority groups. Cultural advancement programs among these peoples are often publicized by the press and in government publications. By offering education and medical care to these groups, the Chinese Communist government may be able to exercise a strong control over areas in which minority nationalities predominate.[13] 744 563

In August 1951, the Ministry of Health called the National Conference on Health of the Minority Nationalities. It was reported that the minority groups in both the Central-South and Southwest regions suffered from malaria, cerebrospinal meningitis, diptheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever. These contagious diseases took a heavy toll of lives and caused a serious loss of manpower. Puerperal and children's diseases also caused a high mortality rate among women and children. In the Central-South Region, the Ministry of Health, following the decisions [164]

12. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 932, Nov. 20-22, 1954, Supplement, p. XIII.

13. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia-ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Control of the Communists], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 15.

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adopted by the National Conference, made plans to fight malaria and puerperal and children's diseases. Because many minority peoples live in widely scattered areas, it was decided to organize mobile medical teams.[14]

In October 1952, according to a Communist report, there were in the minority nationalities areas in the Central-South Region 54 county health centers, 104 ch'ü health centers, and three special hospitals for minority nationalities. In the province of Kwangsi, where most of the minority groups are concentrated, the provincial government claimed to have appropriated JMP$7,225,000,000 for the advancement of health work from 1949 to 1952. Health centers of these counties were reported either restored to operation or established. According to the same report, 225 minority nationalities health cadres, 300 vaccination workers, and a number of midwives were trained to care for the minority groups.[15]

In a description of Kwangsi in 1955, in the Hong Kong Ta-kung Pao, a Communist daily, it said that in the minority areas of that province hospitals, sanitoriums, women and children's health centers, and plague- and malaria-prevention stations have been established, and mobile medical teams were organized to visit isolated districts, administer inoculations,

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14. Current Background, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 152, Jan. 15, 1952, pp. 5-7.

15. Yangtze Daily, Dec. 7, 1952, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

and give aid to the sick. Smallpox and malaria, which in the past were rampant, have now been almost entirely eliminated. In Lungling, a multi-nationality autonomous ch'ü (Southwest Kwangsi), poor health "no longer exists, especially during the harvest season."[16]

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V. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH MOVEMENT

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In order to integrate health work with the mass propaganda drive against the so-called "bacteriological warfare" of the United States, the Chinese Communists launched the Patriotic Health Drive in 1952. It was animated by the fighting in Korea and became a part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. It proved so economical to the government and so successful that it was established as an annual health drive. The purpose of the movement is, in short, to solicit and obtain free labor (in the name of patriotism) for the cleaning of the cities and rural areas and for the general improvement of environmental hygiene.

Three months after the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive in the central southern provinces in the early part of 1952, the regional government was reported to have mobilized 4,000,000 students, 150,000 teachers, and 160,000 medical and health workers. The accomplishments to the middle of July 1952 were itemized as follows:

16. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1089, July 15, 1955, p. 36.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

Communist regime. But upon closer observation this may not be the case; many women who undertook factory-work after 1949 may have done so as a financial necessity rather than as a result of free choice. 562 184

The much-publicized marriage law in Communist China embodies nothing new, but its vigorous and arbitrary enforcement is unprecedented. Even this Communist law has engendered mixed feelings among the women; acceptance will mean the destruction of some of the most stubborn traditions in China. (See discussion of the marriage law in the chapter on The Family.)

Some women hold high posts in government, and "labor heroines" are found in all industries. Housewives of well-to-do families in larger cities may live in leisure, but those of families of modest means may have to work outside the home and do not resent it as long as their work is not heavy or manual in character. This means that the Communists have to continue their indoctrination of women to respect and enjoy labor. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reactions of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are likely to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; younger women are more apt to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

F. National Minorities

The minority groups in China have never felt any great loyalty toward the larger political entity 563 184

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of China. Occasionally they have been made aware that a distant government claimed control over them; but most of the time they ignored the existence of the national government and were only annoyed by the local government's interference.

It is a Communist policy to cultivate a feeling of kinship between these groups and the Han-Chinese. The government's approaches, so far, have been mild and friendly. The effort to help the minority groups develop their own languages may serve to decrease the tension between the minorities and the Han-Chinese. The offer of more opportunities for the education and advancement of minorities will contribute to the growht of a "greater China." In Central-South China, where he minority groups have had no self-sufficient culture to challenge the superiority of the Han-Chinese, conflict between the Communists and the minorities is not likely to result. The key to the Communists' success or failure will depend upon their ability to fulfill the promises they have made to the minorities. The Communists claim credit for economic improvement in the minority areas but we have no certain proof that permanent changes have been made.

Even if we assume that the Communists have done all they promised to do, there is still a possibility of dissatisfaction among minority groups. Although most of the Chuang people (in Kwangsi Province) and the Miao people (in Hunan Province) have been assimilated by neighboring Han-Chinese, some may regard recent changes as an intrusion and resent the dictates of government cadres."

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personages in the agricultural co-operatives and mutual-aid teams have been elected to public office. In the province of Honan, a typesetter was chosen from the trade union, and 41 presidents of agricultural co-operatives were chosen to serve in the People's Congress. Women members made [562] up 28 per cent of the delegates to the People's Congress. In Tu-an County in Kwangsi Province, 635 an area of minority nationalities, 37 members of the Yao people, 17 members of the Chuang people, 563 and 13 members of the Han-Chinese were elected to serve. Nineteen of those chosen were women from the minority groups. In T'ai-shan, Kwangtung Province, 39 were elected as members of the People's Congress and 13 as members of the hsiang People's Council.[24]

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Elections in 98 per cent of the basic units of the municipalities, counties, and hsiang were to be completed by May 25, 1954. Because leaders of the Party had urged the people to exercise their right to vote, about 85-90 per cent of those eligible to vote went to the polls. The Communist propaganda agencies insist that in Shao-shan hsiang, the birthplace of Mao Tse-tung, 100 per cent of those eligible to vote did so.

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It was reported that, in the province of Kiangsi, preparations for the People's Congress begun in June 1953 were completed by March 1954. In the 82 counties and 6 provincial districts and the special district of Lu Shan (Kuling), 10,000 delegates attended sessions of the People's Congress. Those winning the maximum number of votes were

24. People's Daily, May 21, 1954.

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[For a report on an investigation of the Miao of Western Hunan see 2: Ling and Ruey, AE5 Miao, category 116]

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M 167 [648] C 563 167 directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao, but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

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M *101 [13] [167] CC 563 Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao, having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

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M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines resides this tribe.

M [131] [167] [301] [556] [527] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] [462] [782] [769] [262] [263] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

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*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[584] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.
[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

[882] (8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[527] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[584] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

[291] (9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[302] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[782] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[769] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
SC bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
563 open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
M [782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

[273] (10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[167] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[291] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[714] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[411] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[48] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

M (11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
[302] Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[787] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[48] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

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in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees, and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. --- Originally they were from Kuei-ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
●563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805 sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
782 ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
755 with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
787 and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
527 and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
534 (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
167 Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
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(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[342 ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
167 mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
782 reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
648 p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
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M 782 CC 563 M [167] [101]

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(20) Wu Chia Miao. — A branch of the Hung Miao, they came originally from Kweichow. They attach great importance to the sacrificing of oxen and raise in advance several heads of oxen, the heathiest ones being reserved for the spirits. They also prepare dried bamboo shoots and bracken and snare birds with nets. On the appointed date they invite the sorcerer to stay at the house. He sits on the "fire bed" all night, wearing a straw hat, ceremonial clothes, and holding a short knife in his hand. The family all sit around him. They are ready for his questions regarding the names of the ancestors and the dates of their birthdays. This is called "getting to the root of things." The next day all the relatives /chin tsu/ are invited, but those from the mother's family are the most honored. In the middle of the courtyard is put up the ox ring, and live pigs are placed around the courtyard. /22/ The sorcerer hops about, uttering incantations, and then kills the animals with a club. Then the ox and the pigs are cut up. The hind legs, bamboo, and bracken are placed in the ring, and the rest is offered to the guests. Men and women fraternize freely and sit down in a circle, singing and drinking happily. This is called "circling the ox." Then long benches are set up like an alley, and they sit face to face, laughing and singing. This is called "ranking the ox." Next, the sorcerer ties a long rope in the nose of the ox, which is on sacrifice and attaches the other end to a wooden pole previously set up in the bare area outside. The wood is painted in five colors and is called "the general's pole." Spear in hand, everyone stands facing the ox. The sorcerer first spears the ox, followed by the host's maternal great-grandparents, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle, his wife and daughters /chiu tsung fu-mu tzu-mei/, and guests. While dissecting the ox, the maternal uncles wear embroidered robes and silver crowns, and are addressed by the sorcerer as princes. They break off the four legs of the ox, and carry them home. The rest of the guests and friends remain to consume the meat, which is called "eating the pai chia fan /the meal to settle (?) the home/."

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(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; the Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

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From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

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South China AF17
SW China AF16

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M *101 CC 563

In western Hunan, besides the Miao of the three sub-prefectures there are Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien, T'ung-tao, Sui-ning, and Ch'eng-pu hsiens. There are Yao in Hsü-p'u, Ch'ien-yang, Wu-kang, Tao-hsien, and Yung-ming hsiens. There are T'u Jen in Yung-shun, Pao-ching, Ku-chang, and Lung-shan hsiens, /23/ and Ch'i Lao in Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng hsiens. In recent times the non-Chinese people in west Hunan have been regarded as Miao, but actually only the Hung Miao in the three sub-prefecture and the Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien and T'ung-tao hsiens are pure Miao. Others like the Yao in such hsiens as Hsü-p'u and Ch'ien-yang are different from the Miao; the Ch'i Lao at Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng are the same people as the Ch'i Lao of Kweichow. The language of the Tu Jen of such hsiens as Yung-shun and Pao-ching belongs to the Thai-Shan language group with Tibeto-Burman influence. They may be remnants of the Liao people of ancient times. (1) All of them are not Miao.

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1. Terrien de Lacouperie: The Languages of China before the Chinese, p. 149.

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Kwangsi. — The Miao in Kwangsi are generally distributed over the areas bordering Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan provinces, in the following 16 hsiens: Ling-yün, Pe-se, Tung-lan, Szu-lung, Nan-tan, Ho-ch'ih, Tu-an, Szu-en, I-pe, Lo-ch'eng, Yung-hsien, San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Hsi-lung, Hsi-lin, and Chen-pien. The Miao in Kwangsi for the most part are recent immigrants, and those on the Kwangsi and Yunnan border are still more recent. They are called by many names but broadly belong to the Pe Miao, Hua Miao, and He Miao.

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Szechwan. — The Miao are also found along the Szechwan-Kweichow border. There are many Hung Miao in the south-eastern corner of Szechwan and also in an area between Szechwan, Hunan, and Kweichow, including such hsiens as Yu-yang and

M /30 cont./
133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft, [487] thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese have migrated here.

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131 The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by
648 the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty.
c Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from
712 the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li
648 reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administra-
563 tive Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some 40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi (1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the northwest regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided
M according to topography (Illus. 2, 8) some 300 years ago.[1] The
131 frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line
648 between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

[1] [sec cat. 116, pp48c and 56a - ANALYST]

2:Ling & Rucy--56a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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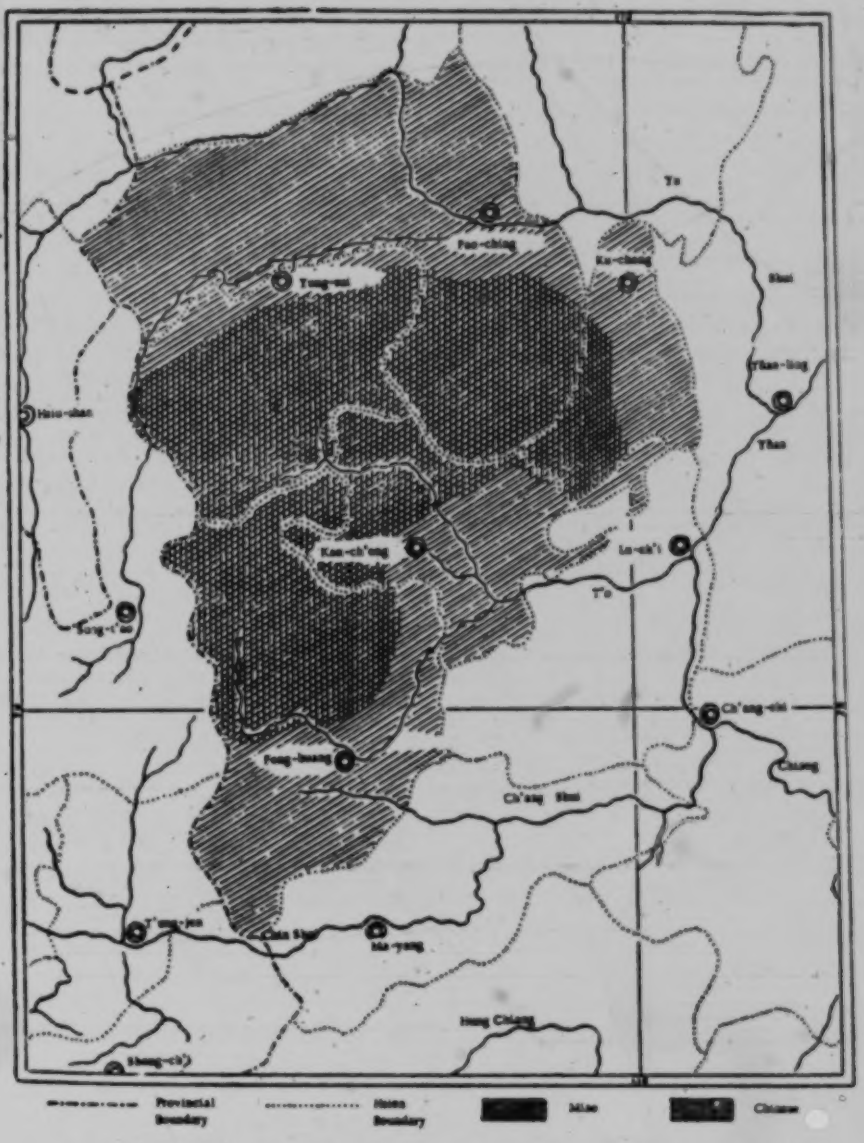

Illustration 8. Map of the Distribution of the Chinese and Miao in the Five Hsien of Peng-hsiang, Kan-ch'ang, Yung-shun, Pao-ching, and Ko-chang.

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/33 cont./

712 /ping pei tao/ Ch'eng-ning issued orders to all villages in the Miao area to build civilian paos. At that time, although the refugees in the two sub-prefectures of Kan-ch'eng and Feng-huang were resettled, there were still recalcitrant Miao remaining behind in isolated villages. Whereupon the sub-prefect, Fu Nai, organized and trained a local militia to drive them out. When an area was cleared, a t'un was built and the men were given weapons to hold it. At strategic points guard houses

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Illus. 9. Stone pao of Te-sheng-ying, Feng-huang.

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C M 487 C M [505] [502] C M [505] C M 501 C M [505] C 491 [523] [648] M [487]

/44 cont./ about 97 li away. When the water rises in the summer, the river is navigable by small crafts to Yen-men and Shin-yang-shao. The total cargo weight of a boat cannot exceed a few shih, and the boat has to be towed or lifted by boatmen wading through the sand and rocks. Although the distance is short, the voyage is very strenuous.

The 270 li of the Yu Chiang from Yüan-ling to Pao-ching is navigable by small craft, carrying cargo not over several shih in weight, and covering only about a dozen li per day. From Pao-ching the river empties into the Sung-t'ao Ho, and when the water rises in the summer, light boats can go as far as Hua-yüan and Mi-no at Yung-sui, and may even be able to reach the city of Sung-t'ao.

The boat used in the Miao area generally measures nine kung ch'ih in length, divided into seven holds, the middle hold being the widest, about one kung ch'ih in width (Illus. 18, 19). The oar, the paddle, the pole, the mast, and other attachments of the boat are not different from those seen elsewhere, except that at the bow there is a long paddle about six kung ch'ih long, which is used for coming down the sandbanks. Traveling upstream offers the greatest difficulty. Every time a sandbank is crossed, the boat has to be poled, lifted, towed, or pushed by several dozen men. Their chanting is as loud as the angry waves.

From the middle of the Ming period up to the beginning of the Ch'ing period, soldiers were sent into the Miao area. The most important duty of the military garrisons was to keep the communication lines open for troops and food supplies. So the construction of roads and bridges in the area appears monumental. There are four kinds of land routes: the main road connecting Yunnan with Kweichow is the official road; the roads connecting the various military posts are military roads; the roads traversed by the Chinese people are civilian roads; and the small winding paths leading to Miao settlements are Miao roads. Taking Feng-huang as the center, the official road leads

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CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION — MIAO OFFICIALS

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(1) The Establishment of Miao Official Posts

The development of the Miao area began during the time of the juncture of the Yuan dynasty and the Ming. The geographical section of the Ming Shih /History of the Ming Dynasty/ states: "A ch'ang kuan szu /a native leader set up by the Chinese government to head the district/ was established at Wu-chai during the Yuan dynasty, and in the sixth month of the seventh year of Hung Wu /1374, during the first reign period of the Ming dynasty/ the office was continued. A ch'ang kuan szu was set up at Kan-tzu-p'ing in the sixth month of the year chia ch'en of the first Ming emperor /1359/, at the headquarters of the commander-in-chief at Kan-tzu-p'ing. Later it was abolished. In the seventh month of the third year of the Yung Lo /1405/, it was reestablished." Furthermore, the entry for Headman Hu Kuang in the "T'u szu Lieh Chuan" /Biographies of Headmen/ states: "In the third year of Yung Lo, Kung Neng and others at the Ch'en-chou military station summoned Liao Piao and others of the uncivilized Miao /i.e. those not under Chinese control/ from 35 villages of Kan-tzu-p'ing to send sons to pay tribute, and for this reason a ch'ang kuan szu was set up for Kan-tzu-p'ing, with Piao to be the official, under the jurisdiction of Pao-ching." The city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Wu-chai was the present chief city of Feng-huang hsien, but that of Kan-tzu-p'ing was also within Feng-huang, situated 70 li northeast of the chief town of the hsien. In Vol. 3 of the revised edition of Feng-huang T'ing Chih, published in the fourth year of Tao Kuang /1824/, it says: "The old city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Kan-tzu-p'ing was situated 70 li northeast of the T'ing. In the first year of the first Ming emperor /1368/, a yüan-shuai-fu /commander-in-chief's post/ was set up. In the third year of Yung Lo /i.e.

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/104 cont./

c 1405/ it was changed to ch'ang kuan szu, with two city seats, 175 one on the mountain top and another at the foot of the moun- 631 tain. Today they have been abolished. The old city of the 563 Wu-chai ch'ang kuan szu is the present seat of the T'ing /i.e. M Feng-huang sub-prefecture/ administration, but it has been *175 greatly expanded. During the Ming period all was under the 631 jurisdiction of the Pacification Commissioner at Pao-ching." *648

Kan Ch'eng was opened somewhat later, when at the end c of the Hung Wu reign period /1368-98/ a ch'ien hu suo /a [701] ch'ien hu was an official at a military station, in charge of 1,000 soldiers; suo = office or bureau/ was established. The "Shu Wang P'ien" /historical section/ of the Miao Fang Pei Lan states: "In the second month of the thirtieth year of Hung Wu /1397/ there was set up at Chen-ch'i a military and civilian ch'ien hu bureau. Sun Ying-lung, who was then keeper of the records at Lu-ch'i, proclaimed that the tribal people of the upper five tu /hsien subdivisions/ should be divided into ten li /neighborhoods/, to be under the jurisdiction of Ch'en-chou. Ying-lung was promoted by imperial mandate to be in charge of the pacification. He selected the head ch'ien hu in charge of the ch'ien hu bureau at Chien-ch'ang, Kiangsi, to go to the capital to be given a bronze seal and given the hereditary office of ch'ien hu of Chen-ch'i. When the emperor went to the pavilion to send him on his way, he proclaimed: 'I have a single pellet of Miao territory, and I ask you to go ahead to open up headquarters for bringing the barbarians under our administration. Do what is good for them, and your descendants will enjoy the use /of the office/ without limit.' Moreover, he ordered the Board of War to select Ch'en Ya of Wu-sa military station in Kweichow and Sung Kuei of Lu-chou military station in Szechwan to be assistant ch'ien hu to go with him to assist him. He ordered the Board of Civil Office to select a head constable, and the provincial treasurer to allot for district police officers, who were granted, wrapped up an ivory tablet, paper money, and a silver belt, and entertained ceremoniously, and sent on their way. In the fifth

C /104 cont./
175 month Tuan Wen reached Chen-ch'i, established the Military
631 Station Office, and inaugurated the system, dividing 124 native
●563 villages into ten li, making Yang Erh, the main leader, a
M pe fu ch'ang /head of hundred men/. The other 132 villages
*175 /105/ became a local army 'to protect the city moats.' When
631 there were uprisings then they would be called to service; when
*648 conditions were peaceful then they would disperse as civilians.
C Hence the name, Military and Civilian Office" Chen-ch'i then
[701] is modern Suo-li, which is 20 li northeast of Kan-ch'eng hsien's main city.

Yung-sui was formerly under the jurisdiction of the native headman of Pao-ching, and Liu-li in it was also under the jurisdiction of Kan-chou. In the seventh year of Yung Cheng /1729/, the provincial governor Chao Hung-en and Wang Jou of Ch'en-yüan-ching tao pacified the uncivilized Miao at Liu-li and established a city at Chi-to-p'ing, called Yung-sui. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 1.

C Ku-chang /hsien/ in the Ming period was the territory
[701] under the control of the three senior officials at Shin-tung-ch'i, Pe-ya-tung, and T'ien-chia-tung, under the jurisdiction of the military and civilian pacification commissioner's office at Yung-sui.

Pao-ching was formerly the territory under the control of the Pao-ching pacification commissioner.

M After the five hsien in the Miao frontier region were
[634] opened, from the Yuan and Ming dynasties to the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, they were under the control of native headmen. During the K'ang Hsi reign period of the early Ch'ing /1662-1722/, a gradual change was begun from native headmen to regular government officials. In the forty-sixth year of K'ang Hsi /1707/, the senior official /ch'ang kuan szu/ at Wu-chai, T'ien Hung-t'ien, being harsh and cruel, the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, sent up a memorial

2:Ling & Ruey--151 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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to the Emperor requesting that he be dismissed from office and that no hereditary substitute be allowed. (2) In the forty-eighth

2. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 11.

year /1709/, because the Miao at Liu-li of the Chen-ch'i Office did not wish to be under the control of the native headman at Pao-ching, they repeatedly requested the change from native headman to government official, and the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, again sent up a memorial requesting transference of control to the government. (3) In the fourth

3. Miao Fang Pei Lan,
Vol. 15.

year of Yung Cheng /1726/, the headman at Pao-ching, P'eng Yü-pin, was removed from office for being avaricious and cruel, and in the fifth year the change was made from native headman to government official. Yü-pin was peacefully settled at Liao-yang. (4) In the fifth year of Yung Cheng, the headman

4. Pao-ching Hsien Chih,
Vol. 5.

at Yung-shun, P'eng Chao-huai, personally applied for the change from native headman to government official. He returned to his native place in Chi-shui, Kiangsi. (5) San-t'u-

5. Yung-shun Hsien Chih,
Vol. 15.

chou /"three local chou"/ and Wu-ch'ang-kuan-szu /"five senior officials"/ under the jurisdiction of the headman of Yung-shun were also changed from native to government officials.

/105 cont./

C 175 631 563 M * 175 631 * 648 622 C [669] After the voluntary change from the native headmen in the Miao frontier region, in each Miao village there was set up a local village chief over 100 families /i.e., a pe hu chai ch'ang, "100 families village chief"/, in order to govern the Miao and bring them under the administration of government officials. But the chiefs of the 100 families were not always Miao, sometimes Chinese being appointed to these positions. As time passed, gradually, there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances,. so that the unprecedented Miao rebellion took place during the sixtieth year of Ch'ien Lung /1795/. When the Miao rebellion was put down in the first year of Chia Ch'ing /1796/, it was found that the policy of governing the Miao with Chinese was wrong. The then governor-general of Hunan and Kwangtung, Pi Yüan, submitted a plan to govern the Miao with Miao. (6) The ministry's

M [113]

6. See Pi Yüan: "Tsou Wu Chi Kan-chou Yung-pao Miao Jen Su /A Memorial Sent to the Throne Concerning the Bringing of the Miao People Together in Peace/" in Miao Fang-Pei Lan, Vol. 19, "I Wen Chih /Literary Archives/."

response to the memorial setting up regulations for Miao officials, Miao Chiang Chin-/106/ Yao Shan-Hou Shih I /Important Remedial Measures for the Miao Frontier Region/, has a passage, "Miao Chiang Pe Hu Chai Ch'ang Ming-Mu Ying Cho Liang Keng Ting /The Names of the Village Leaders of 100 Families Should be Decided after Due Deliberation/," stating: "According to the memorial, in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Hupeh, such areas as Yu-yang and T'ung-jen were all previously governed by headmen, but following their application to be put under government officials, the administrative areas of chou, hsien, and ying

/106 cont./

C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 [622] C [703] [701] [203] C [357] C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622

were established, subject to the jurisdiction of civil and military authorities. In the Miao villages, there were established only village chiefs to govern a unit of 100 families. However, since Chinese were also permitted to fill these posts, gradually there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances. It is requested that from among the Miao who have submitted, and on whom were conferred the peacock feather decoration /for merit, in early Ch'ing times/, there be selected some intelligent, aware persons, to be appointed at each ying /military station/ as native second captain /shou-pei/, lieutenant /ch'ien-tsung/, and sergeant or corporal /wai-wei/, such positions to be filled through the governor-general and governor's /tu-wu/ yamen /tu-wu ya-men/ and to be subject to the control of the civil and military authorities. When the various t'ang hsin in the Miao area have official despatches to send, they can order the said native petty officers to select Miao to question and send, and also to give them some cash and rations. When officials traveling on official business require servants, they may also recruit them from the Miao, and pay them wages according to the Chinese scales. It would appear that the 100-families village chief was originally inaugurated to discipline the Miao, but these men were unimportant and their powers limited, as that the Miao did not heed them. Moreover, among the Chinese holding such positions there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment led to disturbances. This should naturally be explained, deliberated, and changed, so as to fix responsibility. During the recent campaign those submissive Miao who accompanied the army and won peacock feather awards are numerous, therefore from these select those who are intelligent and aware, and who have the support of the rest, and according to the customary set-up of t'u-kuan /officials governing aboriginal tribes in West China/, every Ying should have one or two men to be native second captains, under whom there should be native lieutenants and sergeants, for better control of

/106 cont./
the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-general and governor and military officials should examine the merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommendations memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been abolished, official communications should be despatched according to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials /t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned, to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on official business need servants, then order the said Miao to serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih" in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 19.

According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials, although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un land within the Miao area were placed under the control of Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng /The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,

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C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 425 C M [701] C [651] the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

C 651 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

M [113]

2:Ling & Ruey--156 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

Thus a Miao official was a military official having concurrent judicial and financial duties, whose power actually was equivalent to that of a t'u-szu /headman/. The only difference was that the position was not hereditary. As for the procedure of appointment, according to a reply from the Board of War in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/, Miao Pei P'ieh Chi Ta /?/ Chang-ch'eng /Regulations concerning the Commissioning of Petty Officers of Miao Defense/, it is stated: "The 486 Miao officers in the five sub-prefectures and hsien of Ku-chang-p'ing, consisting of shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei, were recommended by the sub-prefectures and hsien to Ch'en-yüan tao for approval, and then commissioned with official seals by the governor-general, governor, and provincial commander-in-chief. According to the regulations for the promotion of Miao t'un officers, a pa-tsung is considered by the tao and then appointed by the Board; the wai-wei is appointed directly by the tao, and when the pa-tsung becomes due for promotion to ch'ien-tsung, his commission must be confirmed by the governor-general and governor, and when the ch'ien-tsung is promoted to shou-pei, his record must be examined by the commander-in-chief. Today, in the appointment of Miao petty officers, even wai-wei have to be commissioned by the governor-general and governor, hence there is a great deal of red tape involved. It is recommended that the Miao defense petty officers can be selected according to the regulations governing the t'un petty officers of the tao troops /piao, "banner"/. Hereafter the Miao wai-wei and pa-tsung are to be changed to be appointed by the tao, the Miao ch'ien-tsung to be appointed by the provincial governor with official seal, and the shou-pei to be appointed by the governor-general. The Board of War has found that the previous procedure of appointing Miao officials, through joint deliberation of the provincial governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief is /108/ too involved,

C /108 cont./
175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.
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(2) The Organization of Miao Officials

With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96 villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

M [162]

M [162]

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M [162] Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle, left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

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shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, three pa-tsung, and six wai-wei were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising 981 men and women. The left ying's one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and eight wai-wei were in charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men and women. The right ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and five wai-wei were in charge of 18 villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women. The front ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, /109/ and six wai-wei administered eleven villages, consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The above four Miao shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and 25 wai-wei, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130 villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. Moreover, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various families. (1)

1. Kan-chou T'ing Chih, Vol. 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as li, not ying. The whole region was divided into 12 li, each li having one shou-pei. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, three wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers /chan ping/, and 85 guard soldiers /shou ping/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, six wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 446 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, seven pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei,

/109 cont./

three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, eight wai-wei, 61 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men, governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The Upper Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, no pa-tsung, four wai-wei, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women. The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, seven wai-wei, 48 fighting men, and a guard force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families with 9,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480 families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 21 wai-wei, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men, governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The Lower Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, ten wai-wei, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and women. The above 12 Miao shou-pei, 28 ch'ien-tsung, 57 pa-tsung, and 115 wai-wei were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished. These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the scattered Miao in the various li. The guard force of 1,800 men was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded t'u t'ang /?/. The 384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vols. 6 and 15.

/110 cont./

C 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 622 701 [162]

The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tu /subdivision of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao shou-pei, nine ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, 31 wai-wei, and 300 Miao soldiers. (2)

2. Pao-ching Hsien Chih, Vol. 5.

The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included one shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)

3. Ku-chang-p'ing T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four yings — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven yings due to the presence of eleven shou-pei. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called tu are now called ch'ü, but the structure remains the same.

C 631 563 701 [169] M 701 631 *648 622

Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung reign period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei were set up with the responsibility of controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders. For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover, the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[text continues on p165]

/112 cont./

C 631 563 701 M 631 622 *648 701 [177]

The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original separation of the execution and administrative functions between the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time. But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded. Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous. It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do away with them soon.

/113/

CHAPTER SEVEN

C 175 563 669 M *175 *648 C [712]

T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

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C 175 /113 cont./

563 669 712 M *175 *648 did not witness serious trouble. The method of this blockade consisted of setting up stone guard posts /tiao-pao/, establishing guard stations /ying shao/, and building border walls, strictly demarcating the boundary between the Chinese and Miao areas, without allowing any infringement by one on the other. The section on government in the historical section of Miao Fang Pei Lan, recording the system of defense against the Miao during the Ming dynasty, has this to say: "During the fifth year of Hsüan Te /i.e. 1430/, the senior official /chang kuan/ at Kan-tzu-p'ing, Wu Pi-lang, and the Miao of Tung-jen, Kweichow, started a rebellion. The brigadier general /tsung ping kuan/, Hsiao Shou, built 24 guard posts /pao/ around the area to protect it. In the thirty-first year of Chia Ching /i.e. 1552/, the Miao in Hupeh-Hunan and Kweichow were pacified.

C 175 563 712 The Court sent Governor General Chang Yo to hold down Yüan-chou. Yo in consultation with Assistant Commissioner /fu shih/ Kao Hsien, and Lieutenant Colonel /ts'an chiang/ Sun Hsien drew up a plan to abolish the guard posts at Wan-chi. Then he built 12 outposts /shao/ called: Wu-chai, Yung-an, Ch'ing-ch'i, Ho-k'ou, Kan-tzu, Kan-chou, Ch'iang-hu, Shih-yang, Shao-p'o, Tung-hsin, Shui-t'ang-yao, Shui-t'ien-ying, which with that at Chen-ch'i-so came to 13 in all. Every guard station had a wall, a tower, a drill yard, a narrow gate, an office, and a community storehouse /she ts'ang/. The officer corps

C 175 563 701 included a tu-pei /"head of senior soldiers"/, ling-pan /"section leader"/, ling-tui /"company leader"/, ling-cheng /"recruitment and arms officer?"/, kuan-piao /"keeper of banners"/, kuan-ts'ang /"keeper of the storehouse"/, and li-mu /"head constable and keeper of the jail"/. The local official had under him t'ou-mu /"headmen"/, she-jen /"official secretaries"/, shih-tzu /"readers"/, chien-pu /"strong walkers"/, ta-shou /?lit., "move the hands"/ hsiang-t'u /?lit., geographers"/, po-k'ai /heralds/, and the Ch'i Miao soldiers. In all the officers and men totaled 6,000 or more, commanded by a lieutenant colonel /ts'an-chiang piao ying/, with a second

M 701

2:Ling & Ruey--167 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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/113 cont./

C 175 563 701 M [701]

captain /shou-pei/ assisting him. Moreover, at the two military stations /wei/ of Ch'en and Yüan, the frontier guard officers and men, amounted to 6,600 or more, and the annual disbursement to the Yüan-chou treasury for paying the troops was more than 30,089 /sic/ liang of silver, that to the Ma-yang, Ch'ien-yang, and Kan-chou military rations granaries and the autumn government rations at Chen-ch'i-so were 31,890 or more. At this time, the lieutenant colonel /tsan-chiang Tu-ling/ directed matters at the top, the majors /yu-chi/ and second captains /shou-pei/ attended to things at the middle level, and the guard stations /ying-shao/ carried out defense duties at the lower level. Furthermore, fearing the difficulty of communications in times of trouble, it was arranged for the sake of convenience as follows: 'For operations involving under 3,000 men, decisions may be made on the spot, but for operations involving more than 3,000 men, the decision must be made after consultation with the military defense officials. As the number of soldiers increased and generals became more strong, the border regions became more quiet and peaceful. In the

C 175 563 712 M * 648 * 175 C [631]

forty-third year Wan Li /i.e. 1615/, the Military Defense Ts'an Cheng, Ts'ai Fu-i, because the guard stations being spread out and the Miao roads rugged, it was difficult to prevent spying, applied for an appropriation of 40,000 or more gold for the construction of a frontier earth wall, starting from T'ung-jen and going down to Pao-ching guard station, along mountains and extending in all more than 300 li, so that frontier defense could be made somewhat more /114/ secure. In the second year of T'ien Ch'i /i.e. 1622/, a provincial governor was set up at P'ien-yüan.... The then pei tao fu shih /assistant commissioner of defense?/ Hu I-hung at Ch'en Yüan despatched Major Teng Tsu-yü from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying to build an additional 60 more li of frontier wall." (1)

1. Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 15.

/114 cont./

C 175 563 669 [901] [912] M * 175 * 648 M C [631] M [177]

During the Ts'ung Cheng reign period /1628/ /the end of the Ming dynasty/, the Miao rebelled, demolishing the guard stations and leveling the border wall. The "Great Wall" to blockade Miao country disappeared. The 7,800 guard troops /shou ping/ in the Miao area of the Ming dynasty were reduced to 1,600 men at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. When the rebellion of Wu San-kwei was pacified and all was peaceful again, there was another reduction of 500 men, leaving 1,100 men. Military strengh was slight and the defense system was relaxed. Further, following the change from native headmen to Chinese officials, and the use of Chinese as the head of every hundred families, intercourse between the Chinese and the Miao was no longer prohibited. In the twenty-ninth year of Ch'ien Lung /i.e. 1764/, in view of the Miao having undergone acculturation for a long time, they were allowed to intermarry with the Chinese. The original idea was to change the Miao by teaching, but with the passing of time evils developed, when rapacious Chinese under the pretext of trade entered the Miao area and seduced crafty Miao to enter into thievery. Unlike soldiers they entered Miao country for personal reasons and mistreated the Miao. The Miao made a pretext of these guest men's exploitations and encroachments on their land and banded together to make trouble, and brought about the great rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung /1736-95/ and Chia Ch'ing /1796-1820/ reign periods. After the rebellion was put down, the Manchu court realized that the time was yet inopportune to change the Miao by teaching, and the blockade policy was once more used. The various hsiens along the Miao border were heavily garrisoned for protection.

C 175 563 701 M 701

Cheng-kan-chen /Chen-kan Brigade/ was set up at Fenghuang, headed by a brigade general /tsung ping kuan/, controlling four ying /battalions/ —middle, right, front, and left, with three majors, one captain /tu-szu/, four second captains /shou-pei/, eight lieutenants /ch'ien-tsung/, 19 sergeants /pa-tsung/, 23 corporals /wai-wei/, 14 supernumeraries /e-wai/, and a total of 3,389 soldiers.

/114 cont./

C 175 563 701 M 701 Sui-ching-chen /Sui-ching Brigade/ was established at Hua-yüan, Yung-sui (today under Yung-sui hsien), where were stationed one brigade general, one major, one captain, two second captains, three lieutenants, six sergeants, nine corporals, five supernumeraries, and a total of 1,440 soldiers, taking part in the defense of nine guard stations. At Yung-sui there was also set up the Yung-sui Hsieh with one assistant brigade general /fu-chiang/, one captain, two second captains, three lieutenants, seven sergeants, eight corporals, eight supernumeraries, and 1,240 soldiers. They controlled seven outposts, under the direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

Kan-chow Hsieh was established in Kan-ch'eng with an assistant brigade general, one major, one captain, three second captains, two lieutenants, ten sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 1,400 soldiers, who defended 15 outposts under the direction of the provincial commander in chief /ti-tu/.

/115/ In Pao-ching there was set up one ying with one lieutenant colonel /tsan-chiang/, two second captains, two lieutenants, five sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 952 soldiers, defending 19 guard stations, subject to the direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

The Ku-chang-p'ing ying was established at Ku-chang, with a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, three supernumeraries, and in all 740 soldiers, stationed at the ying headquarters but defending the various military posts.

C 175 563 701 712 M *175 *648 At that time in addition to stationing heavy complements of soldiers in the Miao area, there were also put up a total of 1,121 stone guard houses /tiao ch'ia/ along the ruins of the wall left from the Ming dynasty. In addition to the stationing of government troops at important positions, there were more than 800 of these guard houses where 9,000 soldiers were left to protect the border. Later when the nation became short of money, it was not possible to maintain large forces in this deep interior area for defense. Thus, suddenly, the frontier guards were withdrawn, then the stone guard houses became empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a rebellion.

/115 cont./

000 empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a
C rebellion. At this time Fu Nai of Yüan-ch'en tao met with
175 Brigade General Fu Chih-na of Chen-kan Chen and summoned
● 563 together people of the sub-prefecture to discuss a long-range
701 plan. And so they began the t'un system of defense. Fields
651 were allotted to feed the fighters and to defend the guard houses
425 against the Miao. As for the people's /i.e. Chinese/ land,
except for fields for sustenance, a male could retain three tou
of grain, a woman one tou. As for the rest of the land seven
were allotted while three were retained, for one shih of grain
three tou was personally retained, and seven tou given up for
C allotment, to feed the fighters and guard the frontier. In the
[712] Feng-huang area there were more than 830 stone guard houses,
requiring 4,000 men to man them in rotation. Further, 1,000
men were trained to be combat ready. The more than 22,000
mu of land allotted were not enough to meet the expense, and
so another allotment of more than 12,300 mu at Lu-ch'i and
C Mo-yang was made. There were also 127 stone petty military
[712] stations /tiao pao/ at Kan-chou, manned by 800 soldiers,
supported by more than 2,170 mu of allotted land. The
original sect of government of Yung-sui, before the Miao
rebellion during the reign period of Ch'ien Lung and Chia Ch'ing,
was at Wei-ch'eng, which was entirely surrounded by the Miao.
In the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/, the seat of govern-
C ment was moved to Hua-yüan with a newly built yamen.
[712] There were 126 stone guard houses with 2,000 soldiers. The
people's land, i.e. Chinese land, usurped by rebels and re-
covered for public use, totaled more than 17,110 mu. There
were over 70 stone military stations /tiao pao/, at Pao-ching,
with 300 soldiers and over 2,170 mu of allotted land. There
were only 18 stone guard houses at Ku-chang-p'ing with a
hundred soldiers and over 120 mu of allotted land.

M The above refers to Chinese t'un /min t'un/. In addition,
* [175] there were also Miao t'un. After the suppression of the Miao
* [648] rebellion, the Miao tribes, awed by military might, surrendered
[651] all the Chinese land formerly forcefully usurped by them, and
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/115 cont./ also searched into the properties of the rebel Miao and decided to return them for public use. The forcefully usurped land totaling over 30,100 mu and the rebels' properties totaling over 5,400 mu were redistributed among the law-abiding Miao to farm. Granaries were built to collect rent /tsu/ for the maintenance of Miao soldiers. The pressing for rent, the inspecting of fields, the distribution and transportation of grain, and other duties were all the responsibility of Miao officials.

/116/ The total amount of Chinese land and Miao land given up for allotment in the seven sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao area was as follows: (1)

1. Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng K'ao, Chapter 7, "Chün T'un San," "Chün T'un T'ien Tu Ts'ung Shu" /"The Total Amount of Allotted T'un Land," in "Allotted T'un," 3/," numbers set after the subduing of the Miao in 1797.

1. Feng-huang Sub-prefecture
   (1) Allotted fields 22,080.6 mu (allotted in the fifth year of Chia Ch'ing /1800/).
   (2) Fields returned to public use 3,539 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao but surrendered when called on and returned for public use).
   (3) Fields redeemed by the government 5,587.3 mu. (Chinese fields granted to the Miao at a low pledge but redeemed by the government for public use).
   (4) Fields usurped by the rebels surrendered by the Miao 7,650.8 mu (Miao rebels' property, wrongfully farmed by them, surrendered to the government for public use).
   (5) Usurped rebel land returned by the Miao 5,983.7 mu (same as above).

/116 cont./

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(6) Private fields presented by Miao 1,595.7 mu (private property contributed by Miao after receiving an official post).

(7) Reclaimed fields 145.8 mu (barren land without crops reclaimed by soldiers).

2. Kan-chou Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 3,628.8 mu.

(2) Land redeemed by the government 776.5 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 3,487 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 196.1 mu.

(5) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 578.5 mu (now become public fields).

(6) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 48.8 mu (same as above).

(7) Private fields surrendered by Miao on request 604.6 mu.

3. Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 529.7 mu.

/117/ (2) Fields redeemed by the government 93.4 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 127.8 mu.

(4) Private fields given up by other Miao 227 mu.

4. Pao-ching Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 2,178.6 mu.

(2) Fields redeemed by the government 628.6 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 1,476 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 303.6 mu.

(5) Private fields presented by Miao petty officers 300.2 mu.

(6) Disputed usurped fields given over by the Miao 296.9 mu.

C 175 ●563 651 425 M *175 *648 651 425

/117 cont./

5. Yung-sui Sub-prefecture
   (1) Fields returned to public use 16,114.3 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao taken back by the government for public use).
   (2) Redeemed fields 8,468.7 mu.
   (3) Rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 5,940.7 mu.
   (4) Rebel land surrendered by the Miao 9,895.7 mu.
   (5) Private fields contributed by Miao petty officers 500.4 mu.
   (6) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 287 mu.
   (7) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 345.6 mu.
   (8) Reclaimed fields 2,545.5 mu.
   (9) Reclaimed land 10,130 mu.
6. Lu-ch'i Hsien
   (1) Allotted fields 5,382.5 mu.
7. Mo-yang Hsien
   (1) Allotted fields 6,983.1 mu.

/118/ The total of the above fields and land is 131,640.6 mu. In the thirteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1808/ a total of 15,219.3 mu of fields and land was surveyed in the three hsien, Feng-huang, Kan-chou, and Yung-sui. In the sixteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1811/ another total of 5,873.2 mu of fields and land was surveyed, totaling 152,157.1 mu of fields and land. Of this besides the land allocated to the army for horses and farming, land lost through floods and erosion, and also the land used for stone guard houses and surroundings, totaling 11,084.3 mu, and another 37,849 mu distributed among the t'un able-bodied males, leaders, the aged, and the young, there remained 103,223.8 mu. Farmers were recruited to farm this land and rent /in-kind/ collected. The annual receipt in grain totaled 105,488 shih, three tou, and nine sheng.

C 175 563 651 M *175 *648 651

The Miao frontier region is mountainous and lacking in fields. For the most part they develop mountain slopes, building up terraced fields for the cultivation of rice grown in

2:Ling & Ruey--174 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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/118 cont./

C 175 563 651 M *175 *648 651

flooded fields. Whenever the terraced fields are damaged by flood and erosion when mountain streams flood, the damage is often beyond repair, resulting in a decrease of rent year by year. Furthermore, the government has several times decreed a reduction of rent, so that the current rent rate is only one-half of the original. Successive rent reductions undergone were as follows: in the nineteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1814/ a reduction of 5,500 shih was made; in the first year of Tao Kuang /1821/ a reduction of 20,770 shih was made; in the eighteenth year of Tao Kuang /1838/ after an investigation of fields destroyed by flood, a reduction of 282 shih, 7 tou, 7 sheng, 6 shuo was effected; in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/ a reduction of 649 shih, 1 tou, 8 sheng, 1 ho. After the above reductions there remained a rent of 78,286 shih, 4 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 6 shuo. In the twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang /1849/ there was a further reduction amounting to 7,828 shih, 6 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 4 shuo, resulting in the collection of 70,457 shih, 8 tou, 1 shuo of rent. It was ruled that no further reductions would be made. It was also ordered that for every 6 ho /of grain/ there would be collected 1 sheng, but below six ho nothing would be collected, thereby causing a loss of 352 shih, 3 tou, 1 sheng, 1 shuo. Since that year the annual rent has totaled 70,105 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng. From the twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang /1849/ to the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, after deducting 179 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng of rent uncollectible due to flood and erosion, the net receipt of rent totaled 69,926 shih. From the first year of the Republic /1912/ to the sixteenth or seventeenth year, the reductions due to floods totaled 2,917 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng, 2 ho. In the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/, according to investigations made by the authors in western Hunan the net rent was 67,008 shih, 5 tou, 8 ho. According to a statement in the Hsiang Hsi Miao Ch'ü T'un Fang Chün T'un T'ien T'u Yen Ke /Successive Changes in Land Allotted to Defensive T'un in the Miao Area West of the Hsiang River/, recently published by Yü Fan-ch'uan;

C [113]

2:Ling & Ruey--175 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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C 175 651 563 M *175 *648 657

/118 cont./ by Yü Fan-ch'uan: "The decision of the first conference on t'un matters held in the twenty-fifth year of the Republic /1936/ was to reduce the rental on devastated land 1,592 shih, 3 tou, 8 sheng, 8 ho. Currently, the actual receipt of rent is 65,416 shih, 1 tou, 2 sheng." (1)

1. Pien Chiang /Frontier/, Vol. 2, no. 2.

(2) The Organization of T'un Defense

C 175 [701] M [701] C [712] C [651] C [713] C [701] M [701] C [712]

1. The organization of the t'un defense /system/ during the early Ch'ing dynasty.

(1) Feng-huang Sub-prefecture. T'un second captains 3, t'un lieutenants 4, t'un sergeants 4, t'un corporals 10, supernumeraries 9, Miao second captains 11, Miao lieutenants 20, Miao sergeants 40, Miao corporals 80, general t'un leaders /tsung t'un chang/ 15, special t'un leaders /san t'un chang/ 60, home guard /lien yung/ 1,000, old and young males 1,000, able-bodied t'un males /t'un ting/ 4,000, Miao soldiers 1,000, t'un camps 27, Miao camps 25, stone houses 544, t'un guard houses 105, guard stations 51, patrol stations 98, canon emplacements 7, gates 24, gate houses 5. The above stone houses, guard houses, guard stations, patrol stations, gun emplacements, gates, and gate houses totaled 834 units. There were 63 t'un and Miao granaries, and the fixed rent was 25,461 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng, 6 ho, 8 shuo. Shotguns numbered 7,022, swords 300, spears 100, and hand guns /shou p'ao/ 40. The above guns, swords, and spears amounted to 16,229 weapons.

(2) Kan-chou Sub-prefecture. T'un second captain 1, t'un sergeant 1, t'un corporals 2, t'un supernumeraries 2, Miao second captains 4, Miao lieutenants 6, Miao sergeants 13, Miao corporals 13, Miao corporals 25, general t'un leaders 4, special t'un leaders 21, able-bodied t'un males 600, Miao soldiers 800, t'un camps 8, Miao camps 10, stone houses 75,

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C /120 cont./
175 guard houses, guard stations, gate, and gate houses totaled 70.
712 There were 9 t'un and Miao granaries, the set rent was 4,023
651 shih, 1 tou, 1 sheng, 4 ho, 2 shuo. There were 552 shotguns,
[713] 684 swords, and 844 spears, totaling 2,938 weapons.

C (6) Mo-yang Hsien. General t'un leaders 2, special t'un
[701] leaders 10; t'un granaries 11, set rent 7,323 shih, 7 tou, 5 sheng, 5 ho, 8 shuo, 5 ch'ao.

(7) Lu-ch'i Hsien. General t'un leaders 3, special t'un leaders 20, t'un granaries 13, set rent 4,414 shih, 6 ton, 1 sheng, 8 ho, 9 ch'ao.

C /121/ The above seven sub-prefectures and hsiens had a
175 total of 56 t'un officers, 486 Miao officers, 200 t'un leaders,
[701] 1,000 home guards, 7,000 t'un males, 1,800 old and young
M males, and 5,000 Miao soldiers. There were 120 t'un and
[701] Miao camps, 731 stone houses, 151 t'un guard houses, 137
C guard stations, 99 patrol posts, 11 gun emplacements, 38 gates,
[712] and 11 gate houses. The above stone houses, guard houses,
C guard stations, patrol posts, gun emplacements, gates, and gate
[65] houses totaled 1,178. There were altogether 131 t'un and
[713] Miao granaries; the set rent was 79,218 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng. There were in all 16,388 shotguns, 50 hand guns, 1,643 swords, and 5,002 spears, totaling 41,136 weapons.

C 2. Regulations for the organization and administration
701 of the T'un Bureau from the headquarters of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division of the Army.

Article 1. The said Bureau is to be organized on the order of Divisional Commander Ch'en of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division.

Article 2. The said Bureau shall set up, according to the temporary organization regulations of the Division, a chief and a deputy chief, three department heads, a number of departmental staff, clerks, and copyists.

Article 3. The chief of the Bureau will receive orders from the Commander of the Division, and will have general superintendence over the t'un army west of the Hsiang River,
C and Miao defense officials and soldiers, t'un grain supplies,
[563]

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and the keeping in order of t'un properties, and coordinate 701/ everything, with the authority to direct and supervise all the Bureau's personnel.

Article 4. The said Bureau shall have three departments, Departments One, Two, and Three. Each department head shall receive his orders from the chief of the Bureau, to assist him by dividing control over military matters, t'un matters, and general matters, with the responsibility to direct and manage his particular department's responsibilities.

Article 5. Department One will be responsible for:

(1) Matters pertaining to the regulation of the t'un army, training, direction, and deployment.

(2) Matters pertaining to the military equipment of this army, inventory and replenishment.

[563] (3) Deciding on all educational planning for the t'un army.

(4) Military plans for defense in the Miao area.

(5) Matters pertaining to active support and recruiting of supplies in the rear during wartime.

Article 6. Department Two will be responsible for:

(1) Matters pertaining to investigation and management of t'un grain in the seven hsiens, Feng-huang, Kan-chou, Yung-sui, Ku-chang-p'ing, Pao-ching, Lu-ch'i, and Mo-yang.

/122/(2) Plans relating to the collection, disbursement, and transportation of t'un rent /grain/ in each hsien.

Article 7. Department Three will be responsible for:

(1) Matters pertaining to the investigation of the civilian and military personnel.

(2) Attending to the records of cases of opium suppression within the whole defense area of the Division.

(3) Attending to matters not belonging to the other two departments.

Article 8. The members of a department will receive orders from the chief of the Bureau, and, under the supervision of the chief of the department, will attend to the various matters of the department.

/123 cont./

C 701 425 651 The t'un fields in the Miao frontier were divided into people's /i.e. Chinese/ t'uns and Miao t'uns, the two being entirely different in nature. The t'un males working on the Chinese t'uns were also divided into t'un men and fighting men. The t'un men received fields to cultivate, and guarded the t'un guard houses. The fighting men, also called home guards, were solely trained for military operations, and did not farm. In the five sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao frontier there are 7,000 t'un men, from among whom are appointed hsiao-ch'i, tsung-ch'i, and pe-tsung to facilitate control. The distribution of fields was as follows: the men /san ting/ are each given 4.5 mu; the hsiao-ch'i, 5.5 mu; the tsung-ch'i, 6.5 mu; and the pe-tsung, 7.5 mu. There are 1,000 fighting men, each being given 3 shih, 6 tou of rice per year. The non-fighting men are also each given annually 10.8 liang of silver for salt and vegetables. The hsiao-ch'i receives each year 12 liang of silver; the tsung-ch'i, 13.2 liang of silver; the pe-tsung, 16.8 liang of silver. Therefore, in the Chinese t'un, the fields and land left over after the t'un men have received their fields to plant and care for are leased out for the collection of rent. Granaries (Illus. 57) have been built to store the grain, and general t'un leaders are set up to manage these matters. There

C 701 425 651 ● 563 M 701 648 [425] 177 are no t'un men in the Miao t'uns, and the t'un fields are allotted to people to cultivate /Illus. 57 and 58 on pages 124 and 125/ /126/ for the collection of rent, in order to feed the Miao soldiers, under the control of the Miao officials. The t'un fields in the Miao frontier region, at the inception of the system, totaled 150,000 mu of arable land, of which barely a third was directly cultivated by t'un personnel, the rest being allotted out as rented fields. Today, the t'un army in the Miao frontier region is about 1,000 strong. The maintainance of the Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops (Illus. 58) largely comes from the rented fields. T'un fields were set up to support troops on the spot as a defense against the Miao. Today, the Miao have been largely acculturated by the Chinese and the boundary line between the Miao and the Chinese is gradually becoming obliterated. [text continues on p 185]

2:Ling & Ruey--185 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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obliterated. There is no longer the need for this kind of system of t'un defense against the Miao. In fact, unrest in the Miao area today is often due to the maladministration of the t'un fields system. The Miao petty officers and the t'un leaders often are oppressive in collecting rent and sometimes are corrupt in their methods, thus causing dissatisfaction and disturbances. In the twenty-sixth year of the Republic /1937/ the Miao rebellion in western Hunan arose because of the t'un land system. It resulted in the burning of t'un granaries and killing of t'un officers. Although the rebellion was pacified only after bloody and expensive campaigns, it is imperative to change the t'un and enter the newly opened or reclaimed land as available for taxation, so as to reach a fundamental solution.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

MAGIC AND RELIGION

The Englishman, Bronislaw Malinowski, has said: "There are no people however primitive without religion and magic. Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic and Religion and that of Science." (1) According to the report

1. Malinowski: "Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh yü Tsung-chiao /Magic, Science and Religion/," paper in Science, Religon and Reality by